UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/47/PV.32
23 October 1992

ENGLISH

Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 32nd MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 9 October 1992, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)
(President)

- Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization: reports of the Secretary-General [10] (continued)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

92-61400 1759V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (continued)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (A/47/1, A/47/277)

Mrs. FRECHETTE (Canada) (interpretation from French): Allow me to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. You are assuming this important position at a pivotal moment in the history of the United Nations and its Member States. You may rely on my delegation's continued cooperation as the session progresses.

The general debate of recent weeks demonstrates that there is now an international consensus that, while the opportunities for cooperation and peace have never been greater, there have never been so many challenges to the international community posed by regional conflicts, humanitarian crises and the difficult, though exhilarating, process of democratization.

The Organization is fortunate to have at its helm at this time of both opportunity and challenge a man of vision and leadership. Since becoming Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali has sought to encourage the Members of the United Nations to rethink their approaches not only to the great problems we need to resolve, but to the structures and mandates of the bodies in which we work. Canada commends his commitment and the achievements he has already realized.

The Secretary-General advocates an integrated approach to political, economic and social issues, and Canada strongly supports him in this. There is no doubt that economic and social development are prerequisites for

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

international peace and security. There is also no doubt that we shall never have lasting world peace as long as a large part of humanity lives in misery and despair.

I reaffirm that Canada supports the United Nations playing a leading role in the economic, developmental and social fields.

We thank the Secretary-General for submitting to the General Assembly a full and clear report on the worth of the Organization, which takes up the main themes of his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", called for by the Security Council at its Summit Meeting last January. We are glad to have the opportunity today to comment on the proposals made by the Secretary-General with regard to peace and security.

As the Secretary-General says in his report, in order for the United Nations to realize its full potential, there must be a firm will to give the Organization adequate means to do what we expect of the system. The expectations of it are now considerable.

It is up to Member States to ensure that the Secretary-General has available to him the resources that we have all committed ourselves to pay into the regular budget, as well as into the budget for peace-keeping operations. We must foster in the United Nations a new culture of financial responsibility, which requires that Member States pay their assessed contributions fully and on time, and that the Secretary-General resolutely pursue the reforms he has initiated.

(spoke in English)

The United Nations system today faces the unique challenge of building a stronger system of collective security at a time when ethnic tensions are on the rise in many parts of the world.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

The United Nations will increasingly face situations in which the principle of non-intervention and the right of sovereign States to manage their international affairs is confronted by the need for collective action to provide humanitarian assistance. Prime Minister Mulroney reiterated Canada's own approach during the visit of the Secretary-General to Montreal last May, when he said:

"The interests of nation States and the imperatives of geopolitics must be subordinated to the interests and well-being of people."

We commend "An Agenda for Peace", which contains forward-looking proposals for a world in which the very nature of conflict has changed and which therefore has outgrown some of the traditional means of conflict management.

Canada supports the Secretary-General in his quest to develop relevant instruments enabling the United Nations to discharge its ever-growing global responsibilities to prevent and resolve conflicts. It is the objective of my delegation during this session of the General Assembly to explore more fully with other Member States the ideas advanced in "An Agenda for Peace". United Nations bodies responsible for specific aspects of the Secretary-General's proposals must follow up swiftly in the light of our debate here today and our work in the weeks ahead.

We commend the Secretary-General's emphasis on preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, and encourage him to make full use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter to draw to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. We note that the Secretary-General is already making greater use of fact-finding missions, which is a trend that we encourage. In Kosovo, for example, the

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

Secretary-General may wish to complement the efforts made by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to avoid the spillover of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

We strongly support preventive deployment, and would urge the Security Council to adopt this option when confrontation can be averted, democracy stabilized and, ultimately, lives saved. We particularly agree with the creation of demilitarized zones.

However, preventive diplomacy cannot become an effective tool of the Organization without a strengthened capacity within the United Nations to encourage and assist parties to resolve their differences. We must enhance the ability of the United Nations to receive and analyse early signals of potentially significant disputes. The Secretary-General has drawn our attention to the need for more sophisticated early-warning mechanisms within the Secretariat. Canada strongly encourages him to adopt all practical measures, including the establishment of an early warning centre and a 24-hour situation room to facilitate his task, and that of Member States, to provide a more timely response to breaking developments around the world. Canada stands ready to share its experience and expertise with the Secretariat in this area.

Beyond early warning, it is clear that the growing demands on United Nations services are straining the human resources of the Secretariat to its limit. With so many staff members assigned to ever-increasing numbers of temporary missions away from Headquarters, remaining personnel in several key units are subjected to punishing workloads, which can only, over time, undermine efficiency and effectiveness. Canada would favour the creation of a permanent pool of experts on which the Secretary-General could draw in making available his good offices. These experts could gather, receive and analyse

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

relevant facts. They could also provide information about the concerns and interests of the parties to a dispute in order to mediate, as appropriate, on the Secretary-General's behalf. Finally, they could prepare recommendations to the Secretary-General on possible United Nations action. We stand prepared to recommend distinguished Canadians and others to the Secretariat for such duties.

Canada is no stranger to the process of bringing the peace to, and keeping the peace in, all regions of the world. Of the 53,000 peace-keepers soon to be serving under the United Nations flag, over 8 per cent will be Canadian. We believe burden-sharing is essential with regard to peace-keeping.

Canada has for years maintained significant numbers of forces on stand-by for United Nations tasks, including an infantry battalion, air transport resources and a communications element. Minister McDougall announced here on 24 September that we are prepared to confirm Canadian arrangements through an exchange of letters with the Secretariat, as suggested in "An Agenda for Peace".

As the business of peace-keeping becomes more complex and more dangerous, as the very nature of peace-keeping continues to evolve, troop-contributors have a growing stake in Security Council decisions and the Secretariat recommendations on which they are so frequently based. We encourage the Secretariat more systematically to involve troop-contributing countries in its planning processes. The Security Council also needs to consider more fully the perspectives of those countries called upon to implement decisions adopted by the Council through the provision of personnel, equipment and supplies.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

We support the Secretary-General's call for Member States to make available, as required, human-rights monitors, electoral officials, refugee and humanitarian specialists and police. Canada has provided personnel to the United Nations under all of these headings in recent years.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

We believe the expertise of Member States in addressing the peace-keeping needs of the United Nations should be further elaborated. We invite the Secretariat to consider, for instance, initiating consultations with Member States on possible modalities for the pre-positioning of equipment, harmonization of peace-keeping training and other contingency planning.

As Minister McDougall stated here on 24 September, Canada believes that enforcement action should be considered only as the very last resort, once all other avenues for diplomacy, humanitarian assistance, peace-keeping and peacemaking have been exhausted. However, recent events unfortunately demonstrate that the use of force needs to be one of the tools at the disposal of the United Nations and must be considered as an option when all other avenues have been foreclosed.

The Secretary-General has advanced an interesting proposal involving the creation of peace-enforcement units for use in situations where an existing cease-fire arrangement has broken down due to the actions of one or more parties. We believe the United Nations needs the ability to conduct such operations under United Nations command. Thus, the idea of peace-enforcement units strikes us as a sound one on which the Secretariat's thinking needs to be elaborated urgently for discussion among Member States. Canada for one is eager to discuss in greater detail when and how such units would be utilized and the practical implication of such forces for personnel, training, equipment and other resource requirements, and for the traditional United Nations rules of engagement. Obviously, troop-contributing countries must be centrally involved in such consultations in weeks ahead.

The suggestion of earmarking troops for full enforcement under Article 43 raises very difficult issues, including that of the consent of States for the use of their troops, their ability to participate in the decision-making

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

process, the role of the Military Staff Committee and the capacity of the United Nations actually to command and control such operations.

We agree with the Secretary-General that such forces are not likely to be available to the United Nations for some time to come. Accordingly, for the present we might better focus most of our energies on more immediate prospects for enhancing United Nations conflict management and prevention capabilities.

We encourage the United Nations to involve actively in its peace-building planning those international organizations which can contribute the most to the reconstruction of devastated societies, notably the international financial institutions and the regional development banks, as well as United Nations development agencies. We increasingly need to think of peace-building as a process in which the United Nations allows for, and indeed plans, the involvement of relevant financial and development institutions and donor countries - through such mechanisms as the consultative groups so successfully associated with World Bank leadership - as soon as peace-building can be envisaged. Such planning would parallel the continuum we have endorsed in the field of humanitarian assistance where prevention and assistance need to yield to reconstruction and development.

We invite the Secretariat to look more closely at tangible ways to forge links with regional organizations. Joint training of crisis-management and peacemaking staffs could be one promising approach. Regular secondment of staff members between regional organizations and the United Nations could be another. It is essential to develop a sense of shared commitment to global peace, security and development as between the United Nations and regional organizations. This is more likely to be achieved if the staffs of these bodies know each other, and their respective strengths, well.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

While we expect that in future regional organizations increasingly will be mandated to carry out, and capable of carrying out, peace-keeping operations of their own, it is our view that the role of the United Nations for peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building will remain central to international relations, reflecting the universal interest of mankind in peace and security world wide.

Should we allow the current financial plight of the United Nations to persist, pernicious practices of financing à la carte certain United Nations operations by a small number of Members will spread. My country's unhappiness with the financial arrangements in place to support the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) these past 28 years, relying on voluntary contributions, is well known. The decision that participating countries should cover their own expenses incurred in the expansion of the United Nations force in the former Yugoslavia is a dangerous echo of our earlier mistake on the financing of UNFICYP. Canada insists that if activities mandated by the United Nations are worth while on their own merits, they deserve to be supported financially by all Members through assessed contributions.

In the report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General outlines a series of financial proposals to address chronic shortages. It is both within the jurisdiction and among the responsibilities of the General Assembly to address immediately the funding problems facing the Organization. My delegation believes the General Assembly should at this forty-seventh session undertake to provide swift and concrete follow-up to these proposals. We have already signalled Canada's support for the Secretary-General's proposal of a dedicated peace-keeping start-up fund. We are also open to other, complementary proposals.

(Mrs. Fréchette, Canada)

I have outlined in some detail Canada's views with respect to the Secretary-General's report to the Assembly and "An Agenda for Peace" because my country believes both these documents to be of the greatest importance. I should like to conclude by reiterating the need for the Assembly to undertake constructive discussions to address the specific proposals raised by the Secretary-General.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): We note with satisfaction that, with the discussions on the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" held during the general debate and with the present discussion, we have started work designed to prepare the United Nations for the challenges awaiting it in the decades to come. As we stated from this rostrum during the general debate, we appreciate the great value of the report submitted by the Secretary-General and believe that it makes a very important contribution to improving United Nations activities.

The recommendations in the report and the spirit in which they have been formulated envisage a more effective role for the United Nations in crisis prevention and the restoration and maintenance of peace on the basis of the possibilities inherent in the Charter.

I shall not try to draw up a complete list of the recommendations made by the Secretary-General, which, already at this stage, we find encouraging, but I wish to draw attention to some of them. We believe that if these recommendations are to be put into effect we must find means to guarantee a reasonable balance between, on the one hand, respect for the sovereignty of States and, on the other, their commitment to implementing decisions taken by the international community. This is a sine qua non for the implementation of one of the most essential chapters of the Secretary-General's recommendations, that is, preventive diplomacy. We cannot hope to make preventive diplomacy a

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

reality unless Member States regard the use of the machinery offered them in this context as action that does not impair their sovereignty in any way.

Another very timely consideration with regard to the restoration and maintenance of peace is how much freedom of action the international community wishes to have in order to oppose attempts at blackmail made against the family of nations by die-hard elements ready to risk the lives not only of servicemen but also of innocent civilians, to sow mindless terror and cause irrational, irreparable material destruction.

(Mr.Erdös, Hungary)

It is clear that their aim is thus to try to paralyse the effectiveness of international and regional organizations which are rightly devoted to the value of each human life. And it is precisely because the life of each of our fellow citizens of the planet is priceless that we support the idea of collective action against all those who would attack United Nations personnel or thwart the objectives of an operation decided on by the United Nations. On the other hand, diatribes and threats should not prevent us from initiating peace-keeping action or launching specific operations pursuant to the goals of the United Nations to protect the lives of tens of thousands of defenceless people.

We support the Secretary-General's proposals seeking to strengthen the role of the regional organizations and to enhance their cooperation with the United Nations. In this context, it would also be a good idea to take up the question of coordination between the United Nations and the competent regional organizations with respect to joint, simultaneous action, to make sure that these combined efforts are as effective as possible and are complementary.

We also regard as promising the Secretary-General's suggestion to deploy international observers on the territory of a country involved in a crisis or conflict on the basis of a unilateral request by the authorities of the country in question. Such measures may ease tension and promote the settlement of conflicts. Accordingly, we see interesting examples in measures taken with regard to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia by regional organizations and arrangements, such as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Community, on the territory of

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

neighbouring countries. We also support the Secretary-General's recommendation to set up stand-by peace-enforcement units, to be supplied by Member States.

Generally speaking, we believe that a study of the practices of various States in the area of human rights, and possible violations of them, should be incorporated more harmoniously into the usual work of the United Nations and regional organizations. In this context, we attach great importance to recent decisions by the Security Council condemning violations of international humanitarian law in Bosnia and Herzegovina and establishing a Commission of Experts to gather information about such violations.

We also note that the Secretary-General's report advocates a more active role for the highly esteemed International Court of Justice, and we can only welcome the recommendation that all Member States accept the general jurisdiction of the Court, without any reservation, before the end of the century. Hungary has recently done so, as our Foreign Minister announced a few days ago from this very rostrum.

We are aware, even after the first of these very positive exchanges of views, that we will have to make serious efforts to realize the possibilities offered by the Secretary-General's report. With the presentation of the report, he has discharged the mandate given to him by the Security Council's Summit Meeting. What must be done now is to continue the work within the General Assembly, the Security Council and other relevant United Nations bodies until it is brought to its logical conclusion.

We conceive ongoing study of these questions as taking place within the framework of a process which should be both dynamic and regular, focusing on ideas and recommendations that appear to be ripe for in-depth study, which, on

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

the basis of consensus, would lead to tangible results and success within a reasonable period of time. Therefore, dynamism, regularity, feasibility, consensus, tangible results, reasonable deadlines - this is how I would sum up our own philosophy in this field.

Within the framework of this process, which in fact has already been launched at this session of the General Assembly, the various United Nations bodies should deal with questions that are within their own competence and should formulate appropriate positions on various aspects of these problems. This work should proceed as a whole in a coherent, integrated and coordinated manner, so that at the end of the process a proper practical response can be made to suggestions giving prospects of action.

We must do our utmost to avoid any disputes about competence. We believe that we need a very informal working context, open to all, which will allow an input from the various competent bodies, to be incorporated into a logical whole and channelled towards subsequent action by the General Assembly. In this context, we think it is particularly essential to harmonize the activities of the General Assembly and the Security Council and to build on the work already done by an informal Security Council working group, which sought to identify and distribute in a preliminary way the various recommendations in the Secretary-General's report. We welcome the making available to delegations by the Secretariat of a similar document to help us in our discussions.

In conclusion, we are convinced that the very substantive report of the Secretary-General offers us a multitude of existing or new possibilities conducive to enhancing the role of the United Nations in a new world. We are confident that some steps could be taken at the present session. To that end

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

we must now go beyond mere generalizations and properly structure our analysis of these recommendations, and in the appropriate forums, in a pragmatic spirit, start studying the recommendations of the Secretary-General in order to arrive at practical, positive conclusions.

Mr. MROZIEWICZ (Poland): With the end of the cold war the world is taking leave of the old order and old divisions. The entire fabric of international relations is undergoing profound transformations. It is therefore natural that we are witnessing a widespread search on all levels - national, regional and international - for new ideas on how to cope with global challenges to the contemporary world.

In those circumstances there is also a need to scrutinize the structures and functions of the United Nations in order to make it fully responsive to new demands and tasks.

The Secretary-General undertook the commendable task of addressing a whole range of problems facing mankind in all their complexity and exploring the ways and means by which the United Nations can contribute most effectively to their solution.

(Mr. Mroziewicz, Poland)

The result of this arduous and ambitious work is now contained in his two reports - "An Agenda for Peace" and the report on the work of the Organization. Both documents will guide our efforts to establish a new world order which, in the words of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, should be

> "free from nuclear terror, based on mutual respect among nations, on greater equality of opportunity and on effective cooperative structures." (A/47/PV.7, p.73)

The reports contain a very important set of proposals, and both deserve careful examination. In fact, they are complementary and both have the same objective: the evolution and transformation of the Organization, its structure and tasks in such a way that it may more efficiently implement the provisions of the Charter and live up to the new hopes and expectations of Member States.

Poland considers the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda For Peace" a landmark document setting the Organization's goals for the years to come. Its thoroughness and thoughtfulness, combined with an effort to reach new layers of our Organization, create a significant potential for monitoring international peace and security. It responds directly to the new challenges facing the world. Let me also stress that its goals are in full accord with Poland's position on the question of peace and international security. We welcome it and the proposals it contains, and we respond to them with our specific suggestions, of which I mention in particular the following.

(Mr. Mroziewicz, Poland)

First, we believe that the idea of financing peace-keeping operations out of the defence budgets of States deserves special examination. Therefore, we suggest that all States should consider earmarking half of 1 per cent of their annual military expenditure for peace-keeping operations. In terms of national budgets it is not much. In terms of our Organization it would create a new situation - financially and politically. It would help to overcome the present budgetary constraints. It would make the maintenance of peace and security a truly common responsibility of the international community. The terms "common defence" and "collective security" would acquire new meanings.

Secondly, Poland stands ready to contribute to the development of international centres to prepare peace-keeping forces. To this end, we propose to make available to the United Nations one of the military bases in Poland vacated by the Russian armed forces. It could become the first United Nations training and logistic centre.

Thirdly, the Government of Poland has indicated its willingness to assign to peace-keeping operations, as of 1993, two or three self-contained infantry battalions, in addition to logistics detachments. This contingent could eventually be made available to the Security Council on a permanent basis.

Fourthly, Poland stands ready to participate in consultations aimed at the implementation of Article 43 of the Charter.

Further, we share the view that Member States should make more use of the opportunities inherent in Chapter VIII of the Charter. As Mr. Skubiszewski stressed in the general debate:

"Regional and continental security structures should become ... part of a global security architecture." (A/47/PV.7, p.78)

(Mr. Mroziewicz, Poland)

Poland welcomed the fact that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) declared itself a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter, and Poland contributed to this evolution of the CSCE. We suggest that other regional organizations might consider appropriate action in their own spheres. Constructive interaction between the United Nations and regional arrangements may well constitute an important new element making the United Nations more effective.

Finally, the United Nations system of peaceful settlement of disputes must be made more effective. In particular, a more active role could be played by the Security Council in this respect. Taking into account the provisions of Article 36 of the Charter, the Security Council should not hesitate to make recommendations on specific procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes; that should become normal practice in cases where parties to a dispute are unable to settle it according to their obligations under paragraph 3 of Article 2. The Secretary-General rightly emphasizes this in his report.

I should like to add that Poland fully shares the opinions expressed today by the representatives of the United Kingdom and Sweden on "An Agenda for Peace". In particular, we endorse the idea of the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador David Hannay, concerning a memorial to all the members of the United Nations peace-keeping forces who have sacrificed their lives in the service of peace and of the Organization.

In conclusion, the reports of the Secretary General must be commended for their vision and complexity. We believe that today's discussion adds a new dimension to them. We also believe that these reports and our debate will lead us to specific decisions and recommendations during this session. My delegation is ready to participate in their elaboration.

Mr. KHALIL-UR-REHMAN (Pakistan): The report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace", prepared at the Security Council's request, made at its January 1992 meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government, comes at a most opportune moment in the history of the United Nations. It is by far one of the most important documents elaborated for the last 40 years. It fully grasps the complex undercurrents of the present time and holds out a vision of the future. My delegation welcomes the present opportunity to make some preliminary comments on "An Agenda for Peace".

The end of the cold war has ushered in a new era characterized by dialogue and relaxation of tension between States. It has opened up new prospects and vistas for the promotion of international peace and the stability and prosperity of all peoples. For the first time since its inception, the Organization is presented with a unique opportunity truly to become an institution that reflects the collective will of all nations.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

Respect for the inherent dignity of the individual constitutes a sound foundation for the promotion of freedom, justice and peace in the world. In seeking to promote the cause of human rights, the international community must eschew selectivity while fully respecting the values, beliefs and customs of all peoples. Human-rights standards should be applied without discrimination or selectivity.

The trend towards democracy within nations must also be reflected in the democratization of the United Nations. We share the Secretary-General's view that

> "Democracy within the family of nations ... requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization". (A/47/277, para. 82)

Pakistan also welcomes the general trend towards economic liberalization. The growing interdependence of the world economy requires the adoption of measures with a view to providing equitable opportunities for all peoples and the promotion of their progress and prosperity. Efforts by individual nations towards opening up their economies will not succeed without a favourable external economic environment. Developed countries have a special responsibility to help create an environment that would encourage economic growth and would nurture sustained development in the developing countries.

The nexus between international peace and security and the economic well-being of all peoples cannot be denied. Stability will be possible only if the international community addresses the underlying socio-economic problems and other factors. In our view, the United Nations can, and must, play a central role in overcoming the economic problems confronting developing countries. An equitable resolution of these problems can make a substantial contribution to world peace and stability.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

The international community must ensure respect for the sovereign equality of all States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and strict adherence to the principle of non-interference. At the same time, it should ensure respect for the right to self-determination of all peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation. The free exercise of this basic right would effectively contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security by removing a major cause of conflict and source of instability in many regions.

Pakistan agrees in principle with the five aims put forward by the Secretary-General in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace": resort to preventive diplomacy through the early identification of potential conflicts; engagement in peacemaking where conflict occurs; the preservation of post-conflict peace through peace-keeping and assistance in the implementation of agreements achieved; post-conflict peace-building; and, finally, the adoption of measures aimed at redressing the deeper socio-economic and political causes of conflict.

We fully endorse the Secretary-General's view that

> "The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

This fundamental rule should govern the deliberations and decisions of the United Nations - in particular, the Security Council. The ability of the United Nations to preserve international peace is dependent in large measure on the credibility of its decisions and on the degree of consistency in the application of the principles of the Charter.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

The consensus that currently characterizes the deliberations of the Security Council must be maintained and further reinforced. Measures aimed at making the Council's decision-making process more transparent would greatly contribute towards fostering a fruitful relationship between the Council and the general membership of the Organization.

Article 24 of the Charter confers on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the issue of international peace and security needs to be approached in an integrated and balanced manner so that each organ of the United Nations may play the due role accorded to it under the Charter. Decisions of all organs of the United Nations must be respected.

Pakistan favours the strengthening of the capacity of the United Nations in the area of preventive diplomacy to pre-empt the outbreak of armed conflicts. We share the belief of the Secretary-General in the need to promote measures to build confidence between parties to a conflict as a means of reducing the likelihood of further conflict. In particular, the proposal that the Secretary-General should undertake periodic consultations on confidence-building measures should be supplemented by efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Timely and accurate information on potential conflict situations is essential to preventive diplomacy. In keeping with the provisions of resolution 46/59 on fact-finding, the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Secretary-General should undertake such missions. Member States should be encouraged to provide the requisite information. Where circumstances require, and if the Security Council deems it necessary, the Council may meet away from Headquarters, as provided for in the Charter, to focus international attention on a given situation.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

To respond effectively to developments threatening peace, the early-warning capability of the United Nations needs to be fully developed. The Organization's capacity to collect and analyze information with a view to making recommendations for preventive action should be strengthened. Member States should be actively involved in and informed of the process at all stages. Regional organizations or agencies should also be consulted, where feasible. It is essential that the mechanisms employed for this purpose be fully transparent and allow for an independent evaluation and impartial recommendations. The proposal for reporting by the Economic and Social Council to the Security Council at its request under Article 65 should be examined in the light of the ongoing process of revitalizing and restructuring the Economic and Social Council.

Pakistan regards the Secretary-General's proposals on preventive deployment and the establishment of demilitarized zones at the request of the countries concerned, or at the request of one country on its side of the border, as useful mechanisms to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict.

As regards peace-making, the United Nations - in particular, the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security - should first exhaust all measures under Chapter VI of the Charter. The transition from measures under Chapter VI to those provided for in Chapter VII should be graduated. Measures under Chapter VII should be undertaken without any selectivity or discrimination. This process should involve greater transparency and should be strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

Pakistan calls for greater resort to mediation and negotiation undertaken under the authority of the Security Council, the General Assembly or the

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

Secretary-General than has been the case so far. In particular, more use should be made of the good offices of the Secretary-General. For greater effectiveness, the relationship between the Secretary-General and the Security Council should be one of close cooperation and consultation.

Pakistan has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice without any reservations, except those permitted by the Court's Statute itself. We view favourably the recommendations of the Secretary-General with regard to the greater use of the Court by States.

We welcome the Secretary-General's decision to have the Administrative Committee on Coordination explore methods by which the inter-agency system may improve its contribution to the peaceful resolution of disputes by extending urgently needed assistance in an effective and coordinated manner.

Pakistan firmly believes that the issue of the negative economic implications for Member States of the imposition of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter by the Security Council should be adequately addressed. Invoking Article 50 should lead to the adoption by the Council of a series of practical measures to overcome the special economic problems confronted by States.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

The use of military force by the Security Council under Article 42 should be undertaken as a last resort after all other collective security measures have been fully exhausted. The proposal concerning stand-by armed forces as envisaged under Article 43 needs to be developed further and its practical aspects examined, including such matters as financing and standardization of equipment and training, as well as other related issues. The concept of peace enforcement units as a provisional measure under Article 40 needs to be elaborated further and its practical aspects also carefully studied.

Given the evolutionary nature of peace-keeping operations, it may be premature at this stage to determine hard and fast guidelines for such operations. They may have a restrictive effect on future peace-keeping operations and deprive them of one of their most crucial elements, and that is their flexibility to adapt to circumstances peculiar to each operation. It is also desirable in this respect to follow a comprehensive approach covering all aspects of peace-keeping, including its practical aspects.

The Secretary-General has enumerated certain principles and practices of peace-keeping. I should like to emphasize here that for the mandate of any peace-keeping operation to be clear and well-defined, it is essential that there be no change in the composition, mandate, nature and duration of a peace-keeping operation without an express decision of the Security Council. We agree with the Secretary-General that the parties concerned must cooperate in implementing that mandate. The continued support of the Security Council is crucial. Member States should be prepared to contribute personnel as well as to ensure adequate financial and logistic support. I should like to reiterate here that the Government of Pakistan is prepared to designate specific units of its armed forces for such operations any time and anywhere.

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

Pakistan shares the concern of the Secretary-General regarding the lag between the increasing demands on the United Nations for peace-keeping and the financial and other resources made available to him. Pakistan agrees in particular with the Secretary-General's several proposals relating to personnel, pre-positioned stocks of basic peace-keeping equipment and adequate financial resources. All these proposals need to be given serious consideration.

We are of the view that any realistic approach to the apportionment of the costs of peace-keeping operations should continue to take into account the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council and the fact that the economically more-developed countries are in a position to make relatively larger contributions than the economically less-developed countries. The institutionalization of such a formula would provide the requisite financial security to the Organization in the area of peace-keeping. Member States should pay their peace-keeping dues in full and on time. Simultaneously, efforts should made be on a continuous basis to make such operations more cost-effective.

The lack of financial resources has already severely handicapped many of the operations in which the United Nations is currently engaged. In view of the serious financial shortfall with which the United Nations is now faced, it may become necessary for us to consider various options for obtaining resources to cover the current shortfall.

The safety of the United Nations personnel is, to my mind, of absolutely paramount importance and should be fully guaranteed and respected by all parties concerned. As suggested by the Secretary-General, the Security Council may consider adopting certain measures against a defaulting party in

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

situations where a systematic pattern of exposing United Nations personnel to physical harm is clearly established.

Regions of the world ravaged by wars require urgent measures aimed at rebuilding their social and economic structures or, as the Secretary-General defines it, "post-conflict peace-building". Without the assistance of the international community, these devastated societies will remain sources of instability and pose a threat to international peace and security. Pakistan supports, in principle, the many measures proposed by the Secretary-General as part of post-conflict peace-building. The United Nations system, and in particular its specialized agencies, should develop a coordinated and effective strategy for extending the required assistance to areas urgently in need of such aid.

The Secretary-General has called for greater association of regional arrangements or agencies with the United Nations in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as provided in Chapter VIII of the Charter. In our view, such activities must be strictly in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VIII and not detract in any manner from the Security Council's primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Pakistan welcomed the first meeting of the Security Council at the level of Heads of State or Government in January 1992. We favour the idea that Heads of State or Government of Council members meet every alternate year and whenever circumstances require at the foreign-minister level.

Pakistan shares the general desire of Member States to complete the reorganization of the United Nations by 1995. We consider this process vital so that each organ of the United Nations may employ its capabilities in the

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

balanced and harmonious fashion envisaged in the Charter. However, this process should involve universal participation and should aim at strengthening the world body's role in maintaining international peace and security and promoting global prosperity. The trend towards democratization of the United Nations should be strengthened, and we should avoid creating new centres of power and privilege. Particular attention should be focused on preserving and augmenting the security of small and vulnerable States as well as adequately addressing the social and economic dimensions of global peace and security. We are pleased to note from the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization that in the next phase of the reform process special attention will be paid to the economic and social activities of the United Nations.

The importance of the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" cannot be overemphasized. We need to act upon it as early as possible. My delegation would be very willing to participate in any working group established under the President's chairmanship for the purpose of evaluating the document, establishing priorities in terms of time and subject matter and submitting recommendations as soon as feasible.

Attaining and sustaining peace has a very high price politically and financially, and therein lie the burden and moral responsibility incumbent upon all Member States to achieve this aim. The emergence of the new international environment presents a great challenge as well as great opportunities to the United Nations. The United Nations has to use its full moral authority and increase its efforts to resolve economic, trade and social issues. Peace today does not only mean the absence of armed conflict but also requires the removal of poverty and misery around the world. Herein lies the

(Mr. Khalil-Ur-Rehman, Pakistan)

significance and the very spirit of the Secretary General's report "An Agenda for Peace". Long live peace!

Mr. WATSON (United States of America): Please allow me, on behalf of the United States, to congratulate you once again, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. We look forward to a productive session under your stewardship.

Let me also take this opportunity to say how welcome has been the leadership provided by Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali over the difficult and tumultuous months since he became our Secretary-General in January. The clear vision and sound instinct with which he has already faced numerous challenges is equally demonstrated in his report "An Agenda for Peace" which has stimulated so many thoughtful and positive comments today and during the general debate.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

As President Bush emphasized in his address to the General Assembly last month, profound changes arising from the end of the cold war have enormously increased both the potential and the need for preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping. The President stressed the importance of strengthening our ability to meet the post-cold-war challenges to peace and security, and he committed the United States to those efforts.

The Secretary-General's report is a most valuable contribution to the discussion sparked by the peace and security challenges of the post-cold-war world. Indeed, it offers many useful proposals for strengthening the United Nations capacity to deal with them.

The Secretary-General's report responds to a direct request by the historic Summit Meeting of the Security Council at Heads of State and Government level last January. It directly engages, both as a whole and in its many parts, the subject of international peace and security, primary responsibility for which has been entrusted, under Article 24 of the Charter, to that body by the Members of the United Nations. For that reason we look forward to the Security Council's beginning detailed consideration of the full report later this month.

At the same time, as the Secretary-General rightly affirms in his report, international peace and security is the business of every Member State. Despite the delegation of primary responsibility to the Security Council, peace and security is a subject on which the General Assembly itself retains an important role.

Moreover, many of the concrete recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" are of direct concern to the mandates and ongoing work of different subsidiary organs of the General Assembly. This point is amply demonstrated

(Mr. Watson, United States)

by the informal tabulation of proposals prepared by the Secretariat at the request of the Security Council working group last month.

Our own review of the report, against the backdrop of the continuing work of several General Assembly bodies, suggests a similar conclusion. For example, the Fifth Committee is now deeply engaged on the subject of financial provisions for peace-keeping and is considering recommendations on that subject. The important proposal on Article 50 is currently being discussed in the Charter Committee, and is also of concern to the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. The subject of fact-finding has been addressed by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the Charter Committee, and is of direct interest to both the Security Council and the General Assembly. In the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations much useful work has been done on issues relating to peace-keeping personnel, logistic support and training. And of course the Secretary-General's proposals regarding the International Court of Justice are of direct interest to the Sixth Committee.

This is not an exhaustive list but it is an instructive one. Within the sphere of their existing competence, the organs of the United Nations are already productively engaged in the substance of many of the broad themes and concrete proposals contained in "An Agenda for Peace". Such an approach holds the best prospect for promoting our common goal to give rapid, thorough and focused attention to the Secretary-General's proposals.

In keeping with that division of labour, the General Assembly as a whole could best apply its attentions to that subset of recommendations broadly directed at the General Assembly proper and of course to the task of reviewing the individual reports of its competent organs. When more than one organ has

(Mr. Watson, United States)

a direct involvement in any part of the report, there should be no objection to both of them carrying out their own review.

These considerations lead my Government to question whether the creation of an open-ended General Assembly working group would lead to the most efficient use of the General Assembly's time and resources. Frankly, we are concerned that by introducing a new, non-expert layer of review, such a working group would produce a less substantive result and delay action on proposals, and could risk politicizing a process intended to strengthen the Organization in ways we all desire.

As the Security Council observed when requesting this report,

> "The international community ... faces new challenges in the search for peace." (S/PV.3046, p.143)

In "An Agenda For Peace" the Secretary-General proposes a number of sensible as well as many imaginative and far-reaching proposals for responding to these challenges.

In the field of preventive diplomacy the United States strongly endorses the Secretary-General's call for increased use of confidence-building measures and closer coordination with regional organizations and parties to potential disputes. We share the view that the United Nations should be better equipped to analyse information provided by Member States concerning potential international conflicts.

In that regard we believe that active monitoring as well as preventive peace-keeping and demilitarized zones may make a critical difference in volatile regions. By the same token, the Secretariat must also have sufficient personnel to develop rapidly conflict-avoidance strategies and, once they are approved by the Security Council, implement them rapidly and

(Mr. Watson, United States)

effectively. Finally, in all United Nations efforts to pursue preventive diplomacy, we share fully the Secretary-General's emphasis on striving

"to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".

(A/47/277, para. 5)

In the sphere of peacemaking, the United States supports the Secretary-General's suggestion that he undertake more vigorous action, provided the Security Council is closely consulted throughout the process. The proposal that the Security Council itself pursue an appropriate role in dispute-settlement is an appealing one in principle. This is an area in which the Council, in fact, played a greater role in the past than it does today.

As I mentioned earlier, we believe the subject of Article 50 is an important one, as economic sanctions play an increasing role in the implementation of the Charter. It is our view, however, that arrangements for addressing the concerns of countries disproportionately affected by sanctions should closely reflect the facts and circumstances of each case and must be addressed in the overall context of the Council's primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

The subject of peacemaking also raises the subject of arrangements concerning the use of force. The discussion of Article 43 in "An Agenda For Peace" is interesting. We believe, however, that the agreements envisioned in Article 43 raise significant military, organizational and political questions which would require careful study. One would need to assure, for example, that the existence of such agreements would not adversely affect national decisions regarding the employment or command and control of such forces, or the constitutional processes of Member States.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

We are sceptical of proposals to invigorate the Military Staff Committee, which we believe is ill-suited to military planning and command. If there were a role for the Military Staff Committee, then we believe it would not be in the operational area at all, but might involve the provision of military information and advice to the Secretary-General.

We enthusiastically support the general thinking in the report and most of its specific proposals on peace-keeping. Peace-keeping operations should have a clear mandate and sufficient financial and logistic support. They should be guided by a clear understanding of the resources host Governments will provide. We strongly advocate improved training in common aspects of peace-keeping. There is a need for much closer integration of peace-making and peace-keeping at both the planning and implementation stages.

We share the view that action must be taken to strengthen the logistic foundation of peace-keeping operations. To accomplish that we would support efforts to enhance existing United Nations stockpiles, and we would also urge Member States themselves to designate stockpiles of resources necessary to meet emergencies. We join the Secretary-General in expressing our concern for the safety of United Nations personnel, and are willing to help explore ways better to protect it.

In the financial area, my country fully supports the creation of a peace-keeping reserve fund. Operating on a rotating basis, such a fund could help absorb the steep initial costs of starting a peace-keeping operation and would then be replenished from the inflow of Member State assessments for that operation. Although the reserve account is a preferable means for defraying the up-front costs of an operation, we may consider the idea of accelerated appropriations on a case-by-case basis when the reserve account is not

(Mr. Watson, United States)

adequate to meet the needs. However, we cannot accept the proposal that the General Assembly appropriate fully one third of estimated costs as soon as the Security Council decides to establish an operation. The United States continues to question the desirability of the many past proposals in the financial area that were once again endorsed in the report.

My Government views discussion of the report, in addition to serving as a vehicle for presenting the thinking of the Secretary-General, as an opportunity to explore peace-keeping and related matters about which Member States have concerns. In that spirit I should like to expand on a few of the themes sounded by President Bush in his address to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. Those ideas combined proposals directed at all Member States to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian-relief operations with concrete commitments by the United States and proposals directed at enhancing the structure and management of the Secretariat to meet the expanding demands and complexity of those operations.

(Mr. Watson, United States)

Foremost among President Bush's ideas was his proposal to consider convening a special meeting of the Security Council to develop concrete ways in which the international community can help enhance United Nations peace-keeping and related activities in five key areas.

The first of these concerns force-readiness. All United Nations Member States could develop and train military units for possible peace-keeping operations and humanitarian relief. It is our hope that such forces would be made available on short notice, at the request of the Security Council and with the approval of the Governments providing them.

The second point is force-development. We believe that multinational units should train together and develop coordinated command and control, standardized doctrine and interoperability of equipment and communications.

The third point concerns force-support. It is vital that adequate logistical support be provided to United Nations peace-keeping and humanitarian operations. We believe the United Nations own stockpiling capacity should be supplemented by resources which Member States can make available to meet emergencies.

Fourthly, planning, operations and intelligence capabilities of peace-keeping forces should be improved.

And finally, adequate, equitable financing must be ensured.

With regard to the measures the United States will take, President Bush announced several far-reaching steps. Among these are: the inclusion of peace-keeping and humanitarian relief among the missions for which United States military units will be trained; establishing a permanent peace-keeping curriculum in United States military schools; making available United States bases and facilities for multinational training, field exercises and

(Mr. Watson, United States)

simulations; providing our military expertise to the United Nations to help strengthen planning and operations for peace-keeping; and broadening American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance and other peace-keeping and humanitarian mission requirements.

In the United Nations Secretariat itself, we believe the escalating volume and complexity of peace-keeping and related missions argues for reforms in management and structure. I will mention just a few examples. Perhaps the Secretariat could develop a peace-keeping planning staff and 24-hour communications centre. Effective operational integration of all offices engaged in planning and implementing peace-keeping operations and providing logistical and budgetary support seems useful to us. In the field, when a broad range of programmes and agencies are involved in a particular mission, steps should be taken to rationalize and integrate them.

In the financial sphere, we believe a variety of actions are called for: first, adjustment of the formula for calculating peace-keeping assessments to reflect more accurately the new interest of Member States in the increased peace-keeping activities of the United Nations; secondly, limitation of assessment periods to six months; thirdly, maximum recourse to outside contracting; fourthly, maximum use of voluntary assessments by Member States most affected by a specific operation; and fifthly, status-of-forces agreements with receiving countries that require most favourable terms for all arrangements.

In conclusion, let me say that my Government regards the Secretary-General's report as an extremely valuable contribution to both the

(Mr. Watson, United States)

consideration and the actual construction of the United Nations future role in international security. We look forward to working with him and with fellow Member States in those important endeavours.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): The General Assembly does well to give close attention to the Secretary-General's reports. They are noticeboards, not only of action completed, but of action planned. They tell us a lot about the health of the Organization and our way of doing things.

There will be other opportunities to glve our views on many of the specific subjects covered in the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization, and I should like here to confine my remarks to two or three "framework" issues.

The Secretary-General has pointed out that the years between 1992 and the United Nations 50th anniversary in 1995 may well determine the course and contribution of the Organization for the next generation or more. The membership has taken this on board. We as Members and the Secretary-General as the chief administrative officer are now having a hard think about redesigning the system's procedures and mechanisms. After 47 years of hard wear, some of them need repair, remodelling or replacing. The machine needs to be in very good order for an action-oriented United Nations - the "strongest hope for a better world" (A/47/1, para. 22), as the Secretary-General calls it, and of which the New Zealand Prime Minister spoke from this rostrum last month.

Reading the annual report, one cannot but be struck by the fact that today there are peace-keeping operations in four continents costing an annual sum of $3 billion. Increasingly, these address situations not between but within countries, where civil order has broken down. The reasons usually are

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

complex, but are nevertheless not hard to find. Too often one ingredient is economic underdevelopment interlinked with social and structural inequity.

One cannot but be struck, too, by the knowledge that though it provides an essential framework for equitable development, greater political freedom does not unaided cure the deep-seated problems of indebtedness, poverty, famine and lack of fair opportunities to trade. Democratic political, social and economic institutions have to be built from the ground up. The international human-rights instruments set standards that societies must answer to. A focused effort to act on an agreed strategy for sustainable economic development globally needs the political will to cooperate for the common good. The goals set by the Rio Conference are called ambitious, but if they are not achieved, the next generation will pay a price.

The New Zealand delegation strongly supports the view expressed by the Secretary-General that this Organization should view

> "its objectives in respect of economic and social cooperation and development with the same sense of responsibility and urgency as its commitments in the political and security area" (A/47/1, para. 105 (a)).

Our Organization needs clarity of objectives in each of its principal organs. None can override the mandates or functions of another, but each makes an essential contribution to the integrated concept of security as we now recognize it.

Structurally, New Zealand looks to arrangements that ensure value is added at each level of input and that duplication of effort is eliminated. This assumes a coherent relationship and interaction between the whole and its parts. We need systems that are capable of responding to the strategic messages passed on to them through the debate and decisions of the membership

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

and that are responsive to the instructions of the membership. We need monitoring and assessment capabilities, both so that we can see how the system performs and to enable programmes to be wound up when they have done their job and allow other, current needs to take their place. This is a tall order, but worth striving for. Well directed support for the agreed objectives is axiomatic.

We note the intention to extend the process of internal reform of the Secretariat, renewed nearly a year ago, to the economic and social sectors.

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

This we applaud. We support the Secretary-General in the work he is doing. We are pleased, for example, at the effort being made to improve family-wide coordination through the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC), and we look forward to an early report on the conclusions and recommendations of the consultants who are working on this project.

New Zealand has made it clear that we think it is vital that the United Nations respond to situations that threaten peace or cry out for global action wherever they occur. The second report of the Secretary-General that is before us today, "An Agenda for Peace", spells out, we think very effectively, the mix that makes for security in its totality. It raises the key issues that are likely to preoccupy us for the rest of the decade.

Debate on the "Agenda for Peace" is only beginning. It will take place in many forums: here in the Assembly, in its committees, and in its specialist bodies such as the Special Committee on the Charter and the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, as well, of course, as in the Security Council and the Military Staff Committee, the specialized agencies, the Economic and Social Council, the ACC and indeed amongst the regional organizations that have a close interest in the matter.

On issues of such importance the debate needs time for interaction and cross-fertilization of ideas, more so than I suspect is possible at this early stage of our deliberations. The New Zealand delegation would like, for instance, to hear the views of the special groups that are looking at financing questions before we embark on irreversible courses of action. I hope, therefore, that the Assembly will have an opportunity to return to the discussion of the "Agenda for Peace" later in the session to assess the issues in their full breadth and to take account of the expert advice of other

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

committees and forums. We should avoid seeking to synthesize an Assembly view at this early stage. We are embarking on what must be an evolving process. Premature conclusions could be unnecessarily restrictive. The purpose of today's debate, as we see it, should be to lay down some markers which we can add to and return to later.

At the same time, we realize that some of the steps recommended in the "Agenda for Peace", where new mandates are not needed, are already being effectively implemented as our Organization and its Secretary-General confront the new challenges that abound in our world.

New Zealand, which is a long-standing contributor to United Nations peace-keeping operations, is acutely aware of the changing character of peace-keeping. On the one hand, we have seen the broadening of the "classic" operation, facilitated by the end of the cold war and by a more consensual approach in the United Nations, and in the Security Council in particular. We support the inclusion of new components and additional tasks, including many of a non-military nature. The delicate balances needed to restore and maintain conditions of peace may on occasion require humanitarian assistance and protection, the monitoring of elections, the building of democratic institutions and the observance of human rights. To deny these as part of a peace-keeping package could be to deny survival to besieged populations. The role of the Security Council in such issues is sensitive. It must act with care, with consistency, with consultation and with respect for sovereign rights and concerns.

Typically, the traditional peace-keeping operation took place in post-conflict cease-fire situations. Increasingly, this is no longer the case. Whether peacemaking and peace-keeping can operate simultaneously instead of in sequence is now being put to the test. Fact-finding missions

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

and the good offices of the Secretary-General are being used more and more to explore possibilities for solutions to problems. As one of the main sponsors of the Declaration on Fact-finding (resolution 46/59) adopted here last year, New Zealand welcomes these developments. In addition to the important role such missions play in clarifying the factual circumstances in given situations, they can also help forestall or defuse an escalation of tensions.

We support a full exploration of the parameters of existing and new techniques to prevent disputes from erupting into violence. These include confidence-building measures; exploring and encouraging the possibilities for negotiated settlements, including through United Nations mediation if appropriate; ways of containing violence when it does occur by monitoring the separation of the parties to the conflict; and packages to assist in building conditions for peace.

Amongst the most important instruments for preventive diplomacy and for peace-keeping in its broadest sense are the timeliness and quality of the early-warning and follow-up information available to the Secretary-General. What is required, in our view, is an enhanced and integrated capacity within the Secretariat for information-gathering and analysis, including objective reporting of the concerns and interests of parties to incipient conflicts.

Logically, this would done by a dedicated professional unit reporting to the Secretary-General and the Security Council as issues arise. Its prime sources could well include more frequent fact-finding missions and field visits. We are pleased that moves have already been set in train to improve the information-gathering in the Secretariat on a geographic basis. We look forward to further coordination of this activity. At this point New Zealand remains to be convinced, however, of the need to call for the Economic and

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

Social Council to engage in additional reporting to the Security Council on social and economic developments.

We fully share the view that cooperation between the United Nations and relevant regional organizations should be enhanced. More work should be done on the appropriate divisions of labour, bearing in mind that the Council must retain primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The efforts of the Council, the Assembly and regional organizations can complement one another.

As a strong supporter of the International Court of Justice, New Zealand supports proposals to reinforce and enhance its role in the peaceful settlement of disputes. We support calls for wider acceptance of the Court's compulsory jurisdiction, and we support the proposal that the Secretary-General should have the authority to request advisory opinions of the Court. In the Decade of International Law we can hardly do less.

Other proposals warrant further study and reflection. The concept of the preventive deployment of United Nations forces, for example, in disputes between States seems to us in principle a helpful one. But issues such as request or consent, how the trigger-point is defined, and the precise role of such forces suggest that formal guidelines would be difficult to develop and that responses would have to be on a case-by-case basis. Neither are we altogether clear about the proposed graduation from peace-keeping to peace-enforcement, the circumstances in which enforcement activity might be undertaken, or the limits on such a role. We expect these ideas to be teased out further in our debate, with the opportunity to come back to them. We would likewise expect further thinking to develop on measures that might be taken in support of the Secretary-General and the Security Council in the very

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

important area of guaranteeing the safety of United Nations personnel in all aspects of peace-keeping deployments.

At the crux of the effectiveness of the United Nations in the whole area of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building lies, of course, the issue of financing. New Zealand's share of peace-keeping costs in 1991-1992 was almost three times greater than our contribution to the regular budget. We remain one of the handful of countries that have paid their assessments in full and on time. It has not been easy for us, and for us, as for most other Members, stringent scrutiny of peace-keeping-operation budgets will remain essential.

Several new ways of funding operations are proposed in the "Agenda for Peace". We note too that one Member State has signalled an intention to put forward a proposal to establish a peace-keeping start-up fund which would not put new financial burdens on Member States. We await with interest a full elaboration of the various proposals in the appropriate committee.

That said, the bottom line must continue to be that all States must pay their dues on time and in full. Only thus can we show that we are prepared to carry out in practice those Charter principles to which we have all subscribed. New Zealand's contribution to this discussion will take this as its baseline: the remedies relate first and foremost to our responsibilities as Members, rather than to external solutions such as commercial borrowing.

In this contribution I have addressed only a few of the issues raised in the annual report and the "Agenda for Peace". Good governance and responsibility are at the heart of those issues. As the debate continues in the months ahead we are confident that a broad consensus can be developed on the key issues. New Zealand looks forward to being part of that consensus.

Mr. SAMHAN (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, to convey to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, our appreciation for his sincere efforts to consolidate international peace and security. This is the ultimate objective of this Organization. The Secretary-General's wide experience dealing with various international problems, in all their political, economic, and social dimensions, has helped to enhance the role and work of the United Nations. The Secretary-General's extensive experience and expertise are reflected also in his report on the Organization's work and in the special report on preventative diplomacy, peacemaking, and peace-keeping, which bespeak the positive orientation he has shown since assuming his high post.

The end of the cold war has afforded us an historic opportunity to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the short term as well as in the long term, in laying the foundations and formulating the rules of a new world order that aims at maintaining international peace and security, upholding justice and equality between all countries, dealing with such chronic questions as underdevelopment, poverty, achieving comprehensive disarmament that would rid the world of all weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear, chemical, or biological and creating an international social and economic environment of peace and respect for international law.

The Secretary-General has dealt in detail with all these various aspects, and has highlighted the new patterns of conflict and dispute that have come to characterize the period of transition on the world level.

We in the United Arab Emirates agree with his enumeration of all these cases, and with his definitions of their types and their characteristics. We

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

also support the five aims he has set for the United Nations as the main tools for preventing international conflicts and for maintaining international peace and security. These are: first, to seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict and to try, through diplomacy, to remove the source of danger before violence results; secondly, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict; thirdly, through peace-keeping, to work to preserve peace, where fighting has been halted; fourthly, to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts; and fifthly, to address the deepest causes of conflict.

Although these five aims are interlaced, interrelated and form an integral whole, the role of the international Organization plays in achieving any one of them differs from the others in respect of the mechanism chosen to address it, and the opportunities to use such mechanisms as well as in the types of methods applied in achieving the desired aims. All this depends also on the concomittant role the Member States are expected to play, either individually, or collectively through the regional organizations they belong to, in working with the United Nations or within its framework, for the achievement of any of those aims.

The proposals of the Secretary-General afford us new and wider opportunities for discussing the role of the United Nations in confidence-building between States, not to mention post-conflict peace-building. These creative concepts, by their very nature, are still in a state of flux: they tend to change rapidly and to open up new vistas. Therefore, we must strive to determine the logical conclusions of building preventive peace - that is, the prevention of the incidence of crises which may arise from social and economic factors. In order for us to achieve that

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

aim, we must strengthen the role of the United Nations, not only with regard to restoring international peace and security, but also in achieving justice as well as social and economic progress.

We in the United Arab Emirates attach great importance to these proposals and recommendations and accord them the attention they deserve. We study and examine them, keeping in mind their special nature, the fact that they have to do with stability and peace and that they are timely indeed, having been formulated and put forth at a time when the very nature of crises has changed and the conventional methods of conflict management have changed as well.

It is essential, in the light of the changed international scene, to consolidate the role of the United Nations Secretary-General in maintaining international peace and security. We must also strengthen the role of the General Assembly and its machinery and increase their effectiveness. We must enhance the role of the Economic and Social Council in dealing with the social and economic problems that face the countries of the Third World. We must find appropriate solutions to the problems of those countries.

We believe it is also necessary to coordinate the activities of the United Nations system and regional organizations, in view of the commonality of objectives and interests. This would facilitate the work of the Secretary-General in particular and of the international Organization in general.

My delegation supports the proposal to establish a working group to study the proposals and recommendations in the Secretary-General's report. In this, we must take into consideration the nature of the problems faced by Member States and the ways and means of dealing with them within the framework of the Charter, particularly in relation to disputes between countries and the

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

resolution of such disputes by peaceful means in order to achieve the supreme objective, namely the maintainance of international peace and security.

As for the question of financing, this, no doubt, is a crucial problem that deserves special attention, since it so strongly affects the development and enhancement of the concepts contained in the Secretary-General's report, particularly the question of maintaining international peace and security. Therefore, we stress the need to deal with this question within the specialized machinery of the United Nations system.

The United Arab Emirates, like other States, believes strongly in the importance of respecting the United Nations Charter and enhancing the Organization's role in maintaining international peace and security. In our past experience, we found that some countries resorted to force as a means of solving disputes with their neighbours. Moreover, there is the desire, on the part of certain countries, for hegemony and expansion. But we should not mention only those cases that are known to all: there are other, long-standing disputes and hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world that could develop into armed conflicts if they are not dealt with in a timely fashion, by peaceful means.

Proceeding from our desire to establish a new world order that would be based on the non-use of force by any State against another, and in keeping with our national and regional interests, as a small State, in maintaining our security and stability, we find it necessary that the international community, and the United Nations in particular, should focus on ensuring full respect for the principles of international law and the principal rules of the Charter. We also find it necessary to implement, fully and absolutely, the principle of settling regional disputes by peaceful means and the principle of

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

the non-admissibility of the occupation of the territories of other countries by force. This would transform international relations in a manner that must lead to the upholding of the principle of equal sovereignty.

(Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates)

This requires the mobilization of our energies and capabilities and the crystallization of our efforts in a drive to use preventive diplomacy with the aim of preventing the eruption of disputes between countries and halting the escalation of conflicts so that they may not turn into regional or international problems.

The other method is peacemaking through the promotion of reconciliation between disputants by peaceful means, especially by the means set forth in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter and, in particular, in its Article 33.

With good intentions, and a strong will, we shall be able, if we can resort to those two approaches and use them fully, without favouritism or discrimination, to create a world that would be totally free from armed conflict. We could even dispense with the costly operations of peace-keeping or peacemaking and channel the savings to economic and social development and preservation of the environment.

We must work together and seize this historic opportunity to achieve the main objective of those who wrote the Charter: a world of tolerance, coexistence, peace and good-neighbourliness.

Mr. CAMILLERI (Malta): The consideration of the work of the United Nations this year has a special dimension through the increased interest in the question of the reform of our Organization in order to adapt it to the complex and challenging demands of the new international situation.

In undertaking this task we are fortunate to have before us two very thorough and thought-provoking reports by the Secretary-General: "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) and the annual report on the work of the Organization (A/47/1).

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

Taken together these two reports cover the whole range of issues that are of most relevance to the question of the future role and direction of the United Nations. They contain a wealth of ideas and proposals, some of a bold and far-reaching nature, all of which deserve detailed and careful examination.

Discussions on the changing role of the United Nations, and consequent reforms in its structures and methods of work, have intensified in recent years. That is reflected in the increasing number of separate agenda items that deal with different aspects of the subject. One of the great merits of the reports presented to us by the Secretary-General this year is the way in which they focus attention on the interrelated aspects of all the main issues involved.

In presenting these reports to us the Secretary-General is at the same time also making a most welcome and effective contribution to the objective of revitalizing the work of the General Assembly by ensuring timeliness, relevance and comprehensiveness in its deliberations.

I should like to make some brief observations on four elements that underlie much of the thinking in the reports we have before us - namely, the need to strengthen the United Nations capacity for preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes, the relationship between security and development, the role of action at the regional level and the question of adequate resources and financing.

Over the last few years the United Nations role in the maintenance of international peace and security has risen dramatically. In his annual report, the Secretary-General tells us that

> "never before in its history has the United Nations been so action-oriented, so actively engaged, and so widely expected to respond to needs both immediate and pervasive." (A/47/1, para. 5)

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

His report provides impressive details to substantiate this claim.

A direct and welcome result of the United Nations increased responsibilities in matters of peace and security is an enlarged and more effective role for the Security Council. In turn, this may be having a less welcome effect on other organs of the United Nations system, particularly by marginalizing much of the work of the General Assembly and perhaps in some respects also that of the International Court of Justice.

In his address to this Assembly a few days ago, my Prime Minister stressed that a dynamic relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council remains the essential prerequisite for the credible and effective functioning of the United Nations in the field of peace and international security.

The Secretary-General touches upon this point in his "An Agenda for Peace", when he reminds us that:

> "The General Assembly, like the Security Council and the Secretary-General, also has an important role assigned to it under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security." (A/47/277, para. 36)

He finds it necessary to underline what should be an obvious point, namely that greater reliance on the International Court of Justice "would be an important contribution to United Nations peacemaking". (ibid., para. 38)

One risk in any uneven evolution of the roles of the major organs in matters of peace and security could lie in a relative weakening over the longer term of the system's capacity for preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

We have seen in recent months an increasing tendency in the Security Council to move from peacemaking to peace-keeping. This is largely a reflection of its new found vigour as well as a response to the exceptional situations with which it has been confronted. It is also evident that there will always be instances of legitimate differences of opinion regarding the point where the processes of preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes have broken down, leaving no alternative to more forceful action.

It is equally evident, however, that within the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice and indeed other organs of the United Nations system there exists a vast and sometimes untapped capacity for efforts towards the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is in our collective interest to ensure that this capacity is fully utilized in the United Nations system's approach to matters of security. Recourse to more forceful action, especially enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter should always remain a measure of last resort, a measure whose ultimate credibility and effectiveness lies in inverse proportion to the frequency of its application.

It is for this reason that we attach special importance to the Secretary-General's recommendations regarding preventive diplomacy and to his urging that the Security Council

> "take full advantage of the provisions of the Charter under which it may recommend appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement". (ibid., para. 35)

In this context we see the need for the Secretary-General to be ready to make full use of his powers under Article 99 of the Charter.

We also welcome the Secretary-General's decision to highlight a fourth important concept in this area, namely that of post-conflict peace-building,

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

which he describes as "the construction of a new environment" which "should be viewed as the counterpart of preventive diplomacy". (ibid., para. 57)

The concept of peace-building, as conceived in the Secretary-General's report, is also linked to the wider issues of social and economic development. There is increasing realization that social and economic development constitutes a means, perhaps ultimately the most effective and lasting means, for ensuring international peace and security.

The Secretary-General devotes a significant part of his annual report to the notion of global partnership for development. He rightly reminds us that "the United Nations as an institution is uniquely placed to press for global solutions to global problems in the economic field" (A/47/1, para. 57) and that in this context the United Nations "still has a continuing obligation to put its weight behind those who are most seriously underprivileged". (ibid., para. 61)

The revitalization of the Economic and Social Council plays an important part in the endeavour to give the United Nations the role in the promotion of economic and social development that was envisaged in the Charter. Among the many useful ideas and suggestions of the Secretary-General on this matter, we support in particular his views regarding the need for closer and improved relationships between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions. We also support his recommendation that the Security Council invite

> "a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council to provide reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter of the United Nations, on those economic and social developments that may, unless mitigated, threaten international peace and security." (ibid., para. 82)

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

In the same line of thinking, we also support the suggestion that ways be explored of empowering the Secretary-General and expert human rights bodies to bring massive violations of human rights to the attention of the Security Council, together with recommendations for action.

Points of linkage between the work of the various organs, through their respective fields of competence, form, in our view, an essential complement to the notion of the interrelationship of the issues of peace, democracy and human rights, and the requirements of development, that the Secretary-General consistently emphasizes in his reports.

Cooperation at the regional level offers yet another useful dimension in the renewed global efforts towards peace and development. In his "Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General reflects upon the evolution of the notion of regional arrangements from that of a device responding to the dangers of a confrontational global environment to that of partnership in the process of multilateral cooperation.

The case of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) provides a most impressive instance of such an evolution. In its transformation from a product of the cold war to a central forum for European cooperation, the CSCE brings a wealth of experience and well-tested ideas, ranging from confidence-building measures to the intimate linkage between issues of peace, development and human rights.

Experience in other regions, especially in the resolution of specific regional conflicts, confirms the Secretary-General's conclusion that

"regional action as a matter of decentralization, delegation and cooperation with United Nations efforts could not only lighten the

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

burden of the Council but also contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratization in international affairs." (A/47/277, para. 64)

The question of the nature and extent of interaction between the regional and more global levels of multilateral cooperation is a subject that will increasingly require special attention in the future. In particular, the different implications of the three concepts that the Secretary-General mentions in this connection, namely, decentralization, delegation and cooperation, will have to be examined in some detail.

In the light of the widespread satisfaction at the improved prospects for international cooperation, and the central role of the United Nations system in this process, the resource and financial problems being encountered by our Organization in the accomplishment of its task are especially frustrating. The Secretary-General has found it necessary to caution that

"amid the tumult of demands placed upon it, the United Nations cannot afford to become a victim of its own popularity, suffering from a crisis of expectations rather than, as in the past, from a lack of credibility to command consensus." (A/47/1, para. 44)

Perhaps over the years we have come to take too much for granted the distinctive merits of the United Nations as a working organization. It is an organization that by virtue of its constitution invariably runs a balanced budget - a budget that, in both absolute and especially in relative terms, is almost insignificant. It is an organization that does not possess any direct access to significant reserve funds, nor does it have any access to commercial borrowing.

In spite of this, and in spite of the very real problems that it has faced over the years, the system has remained sound in the most important

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

administrative and management aspects. It has also, though with great and increasing difficulties, managed to rely upon its own internal resources to cope with what the Secretary-General calls a "deplorable ... situation" (A/47/1, para. 47).

The distinctive strength of our Organization arises from the intimate and continuous relationship that exists between its political and administrative levels. We believe that every effort should be made to maintain this relationship. In this context we believe that the main thrust of the efforts to remedy the financial situation of the United Nations should lie in the direction of ensuring that Members meet their obligations promptly and fully.

We therefore support the Secretary-General's ideas that go in this direction, notably the proposal to charge interest on arrears, as well as the proposals regarding the retention of budgetary surpluses and the increase of the Working Capital Fund. The proposals concerning a revolving Peace-keeping Reserve Fund, as well as the establishment of a Peace Endowment Fund are also timely and attractive. The successful experience with the recent establishment of the Humanitarian Revolving Fund encourages us to believe that this type of proposal is both feasible and practical.

We would, however, suggest caution as regards the idea of authorizing commercial borrowing since this, in our view, would tend to ease the pressure on Members to pay their dues on time, and might consequently contribute to an erosion of the existing intimate linkage between the Members and the Organization.

We would like to see the present discussion as an important element in the ongoing intensive and comprehensive exercise dealing with the whole range of issues related to the evolving role and structures of the United Nations. The Secretary-General's reports provide an excellent basis for focusing and

(Mr. Camilleri, Malta)

directing our thinking on the subject. Ways have to be found of tying together the various relevant discussions that are being conducted in different forums, some in the Main Committees of the General Assembly itself, others in the Economic and Social Council, in the Security Council and elsewhere.

Together with the Secretary-General, we wish to see fulfilled the expectation that a fundamental renewal of the United Nations will be complete by the time it marks the first half-century of its existence.

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): In a world without peace, troubled with post-cold-war instability and regional crises, what can be more important than "An Agenda for Peace"? The Republic of Croatia, which is one of the unfortunate victims of the war-troubled period that followed the collapse of communism and the historical transformations in Middle and Eastern Europe, firmly supports the efforts made by the Secretary-General aimed at promoting, reshaping and implementing a new global strategy for efficient preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and the peace-keeping process around the world. Croatia is carrying the burden of painful experience and first-hand knowledge as to how the absence of substantive peacemaking and peace-keeping action on the part of the world community can intensify a crisis and aggravate the tragedy of war and human suffering. At the same time, Croatia is able to appreciate the importance and benefits of peace-keeping operations, because one of the biggest actions in United Nations history is taking place on Croatian soil with, we hope, promising results.

The political ice age has ended, but the world has still not reached the goals of lasting peace and prosperity. On the contrary, vicious wars are being fought in the name of national, religious or even linguistic superiority; the land is being taken from those who had lived there for

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

centuries; "ethnic cleansing" and annihilation of other peoples' cultural and social heritage are the names of a new bloody game that post-communist dictators love to play.

From the fields of Croatia to the Black Sea shores, the people are dying, unable to stop the tragedy with their own hands and clear the way towards stability and security. The old towns that once were the symbols of cultural might and spirit, on the eve of the twenty-first century became the manifestations of pain, suffering and destruction. If there is anything the world can learn from the horrifying examples of Dubrovnik, Vukovar and Sarajevo, it is that the world community cannot stand passively aside, not responding to blatant aggression. The sooner the world responds to the calls for determined action, the fewer will be the victims and the smaller the scale of suffering.

The fact that the United Nations has undertaken 13 new peace-keeping operations since 1988 is clear evidence of the mounting importance of the world Organization in its role as the guardian and promoter of peace all over the world. Today, when regional crises are jeopardizing global stability, United Nations peace-keeping and peacemaking actions, as well as preventive diplomacy and post-war confidence-building, are emerging as a foundation-stone for the prosperous future of the united world. At this moment, almost 50,000 Blue Helmets are stationed all over the world trying to preserve peace and prevent new bloodshed. Their bravery deserves our admiration. The results of their efforts must not be underestimated, but, unfortunately, they have not yet accomplished all their tasks.

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

There is no doubt that the United Nations is on the way to asserting its authority in the place of the old cold-war balance, which once froze all potential regional crises. The sad reality of the 1990s is that the United Nations cannot limit its role to keeping and guarding the peace. Sometimes one has to fight for it. United Nations military enforcement actions have so far been authorized on only two occasions, in the Korean and Gulf wars. The results achieved in liberating Kuwait provide a good lesson to the aggressors; the tragedy in the Balkans shows how high the price is when the aggressor is not stopped instantaneously and with all the might of the joint world community.

Preventive diplomacy and preventive peace-keeping, as well as consistent development policy and support, must be one of the major goals in the work of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the whole Organization. The best way to stop war and its harrowing consequences is not to have one. But there are crises and wars that have already exploded and where "prevent" is a useless word. Those crises - the war in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the best example - have to be solved through the process of peacemaking in all its aspects, including those provided under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The threatening war-drums of regional crises impose imperatives for deep reforms in the United Nations peace-keeping process. "An Agenda for Peace", wisely proposed by the Secretary-General, is the right answer at the right time. Croatia supports the proposed reforms and actions, particularly those in the field of post-conflict peace-building, cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations, and financing. Croatia would especially like to underline the importance of establishing peace-enforcement units, as

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

proposed in paragraph 44 of "Agenda for Peace". Furthermore, Croatia is ready to participate actively in those forces, which will be the pillar of the new world stability.

Experience gained from the peace-keeping operation in Croatia should be highly relevant and inspirational for future peace-keeping operations around the world. All conflicts in the post-cold-war era are regional and consequences of the political creation of new States or of regional imperialism. This experience can be particularly relevant for the growing peace-keeping operation in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country exposed to the same Serbian territorial conquest as Croatia and even more brutally subjected to "ethnic cleansing".

Though we strongly appreciate the efforts and results of the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Croatia, my Government is considering the option of not prolonging the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in March next year. This should in no way be seen as an act of hostility towards United Nations peace-keepers. On the contrary, we are looking for the successful fulfilment of the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia by next spring. It is particularly important to disarm Serbian paramilitary units, if necessary even by force, since they were identified in the Secretary-General's report (S/24600) of 28 September as the main obstacle to the implementation of the Vance plan and to the return of the refugees.

It is certainly not the mandate, nor is it the intention, of UNPROFOR to freeze existing situations in United Nations Protected Areas; rather, it is to create conditions for a political settlement. We have to implement principles agreed at the Conference on the former Yugoslavia and approved by the Security Council and General Assembly, especially in regard to the inviolability of existing boundaries and the protection of the rights of minorities. The

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

Republic of Croatia will continue to work devotedly in creating internal and external political conditions for a political resolution of the conflict.

I have the pleasure to inform the Assembly that the Croatian Parliament recently adopted the "Law of Abolition and Amnesty" for all except those who had committed war crimes. We will continue to build confidence among the population in the crisis area. But in order to create conditions for the full implementation of minority rights under the "Law on Special Status for the Serbian Minority in Croatia", adopted by the Croatian Parliament at the beginning of this year, the United Nations Protected Areas have to be fully integrated into the Croatian political, economic, and social system. Furthermore, we believe that destroyed areas cannot be rebuilt, nor can hundreds of thousands of displaced persons be returned to their homes and working places, without the full reintegration of these parts of the Republic of Croatia into its infrastructure. Confidence-building among various ethnic communities cannot start under the present provisional legal and political structures of the former communist system, nor with the implementation of the legislation of another State. This is why we urge the start of a massive return of the refugees as the beginning of the process of reconciliation.

We have also made a big step forward in stimulating regional conditions for peace and stability envisaged in the joint statement of the President of the Republic of Croatia and the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on 30 September 1992 in Geneva. It remains to be seen whether this agreement means new temporising by internationally isolated and weakened Serbia. But only the full cessation of military, political and economic support by Serbia to radical Serbian nationalists in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina can divert the trend of confrontation.

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

We would also like to make the existing UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia a success story in order to encourage similar peace processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia itself. This would enable UNPROFOR to use financial and other resources to proceed with an even more comprehensive and effective peace-keeping operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We fully support the new concept of shared, increased responsibility of regional organizations in promoting and enforcing peace in their regions, because regional organizations and Member States are better equipped and motivated to perform peace-keeping and peacemaking roles in their respective regions. But for that task regional organizations must restructure themselves and be prepared to perform such important functions. Each Member State should devote part of its defence budget and military forces to immediate use in peace-keeping or peace-enforcing operations, upon the request of regional organizations.

However, it is quite clear that the Security Council should play the main role in authorizing such action; the United Nations should play the main role in coordinating the military, diplomatic and humanitarian aspects of each peace operation. The Organization should also set standards and guidelines for the peace-keeping and peacemaking roles of regional organizations. In Europe such a responsible task in the cause of peace should be entrusted to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), as the widest European forum. But the CSCE must be transformed into a real regional organization and provided with adequate structures and political and military mechanisms to accomplish this task.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): It is indeed an honour to address this very important meeting, which has been convened to discuss the Secretary-General's

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

report "An Agenda for Peace". Since that report raises many issues of common concern, not only to the Security Council, but to the United Nations as a whole, it is appropriate for the members of this Assembly to have the opportunity to exchange views on it.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan extends its warmest congratulations to the Secretary-General for the world-wide echo he triggered by making public his report regarding preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building, and I should like to pay a high tribute to him for his initiative. We fully share the view that now that the current world situation is bringing ever-greater challenges to the United Nations, Member States are required to enhance their efforts to support the Organization with a view to coping effectively with these challenges and thus creating a more peaceful world. Japan further believes that the Secretary-General's efforts are also a valuable contribution to strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security in this changing world.

Indeed, many of the concepts and proposals raised in the report are extremely interesting. We have no doubt that these sets of ideas deserve to be discussed thoroughly and seriously. Japan considers that in so doing attention should be duly paid to the following points.

First, since the report covers a wide range of subjects, discussions should be carried out in appropriate forums of the United Nations, including the Security Council and the General Assembly. Thus far, my own delegation has been actively engaged in the discussions of the Security Council and the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. A number of items to be discussed, however, may be handled in more than one forum. In such cases, the relevant organs should coordinate with each other, exchanging views both intensively and on a continuing basis.

Secondly, some ambitious and innovative ideas concerning preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping contained in the Secretary-General's report should be discussed fully, respecting the time-tested principles and practices of peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

In this respect, I reiterate Japan's position on the idea of "preventive deployment" and "peace-enforcement units" which Foreign Minister Watanabe explained in his statement in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly. Japan would welcome further discussion of these issues among Member States, upon whose support and cooperation the possible future realization of this proposal greatly depends.

Thirdly, measures to secure a sound financial base are urgently required. To this end, Japan is planning to put before this session of the General Assembly a draft resolution designed to ensure that financial requirements for major peace-keeping operations at the start-up stage will be met without imposing new financial burdens on Member States. We believe Japan's proposal is compatible with those put forward by the Secretary-General and hope that as many Member States as possible will be able to support this initiative.

Fourthly, the Secretariat should be organized so as to ensure that the United Nations maximizes the effectiveness of its efforts to resolve international problems. In this regard, I heartily welcome the Secretary-General's decision to streamline relevant components of peace-keeping operations by heeding a proposal put forward by the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. In the interests of efficiency, it is important to have a single, integrated structure, with clear lines of responsibility and accountability.

Fifthly, better communication among the various United Nations agencies is necessary to ensure that limited resources are used effectively and that the Organization's full potential is realized.

The Committee on Peace-keeping Operations has emphasized the importance of informal and frequent consultations between the Secretariat and

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

contributing States. It would be helpful if a mechanism were established for consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council, the major sources of financial support, the countries providing large contingents of personnel, and the countries of the regions concerned.

My delegation is delighted to note that the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace", which in my view aims at strengthening the effectiveness of and trust in the Organization, has evoked successfully wide-ranging discussions among Member States. With the aim, however, of enhancing effectiveness of and trust in the United Nations, it is equally important to consider seriously how the United Nations as a whole should be structured, including the function and composition of the Security Council, and other aspects of the Council's work. As our Foreign Minister stressed in his statement in the general debate at this session we consider it necessary for the United Nations itself to begin to deal with this important issue. Japan, for its part, is prepared to take an active part in this process, fully mindful of its position and responsibility in the international community.

Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus): My delegation is particularly pleased to have this opportunity of participating in this debate on the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, an item which is sufficiently broad to cover both the comprehensive annual report (A/47/1) and the excellent document "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). It is right and fitting that this should be the first item to be considered in the plenary Assembly, after the conclusion of the general debate, in which many heads of delegations had the occasion to comment favourably on the imaginative and solid proposals put forward by our esteemed Secretary-General.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

Allow me to recall on this occasion that Cyprus from the beginning of its existence as an independent State and its admission to the United Nations in September 1960 has consciously made the principles of the Charter central to its foreign policy and has not hesitated to take positions on the issues before the Organization dictated primarily by its dedication to the furtherance of the aims of the United Nations. It so happened that this attitude, determined by its commitment to principle, coincided with the country's enlightened self-interest as a small and militarily weak State depending for its security on the collective security system of the United Nations and, as a developing country, standing to gain from multilateral technical assistance and know-how. In both the political and the economic fields the attitude of Cyprus towards the United Nations was conditioned by its understanding of what was in the best interests of the United Nations, consistent with what was in the best interests of Cyprus itself. Similarly, in the international legal field Cyprus has in its modest way always endeavoured to abide by the rules of international law, to participate constructively in major United Nations law-making conferences and to make its contribution in such areas as developing compulsory third-party dispute-settlement procedures and the adoption of such progressive notions of international law as jus cogens.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

It is from this perspective that we view "An Agenda for Peace" as a timely and valuable contribution by the Secretary-General to the ongoing debate on the revitalized role of the United Nations in present day international affairs. We particularly welcome the fact that this debate is taking place in the General Assembly, where all Member States, large and small, are equally represented as part of the democratic process, and look forward to following up particular topics for detailed discussion in other appropriate bodies of the United Nations, such as the Special Political Committee, in connection with the item on peace-keeping, the Sixth Committee, in connection with the Charter Committee's report, the Fifth Committee, on the issue of financing, and indeed in the Security Council, the Secretariat, non-governmental organizations, the press and concerned institutions and individuals. It is very much our hope and expectation that discussion will be followed by decisions and actions to implement these decisions.

My delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General's observation that, while the foundation stone of the United Nations is and must remain the State, the time for absolute and exclusive sovereignty in an evermore interdependent world has passed. It is equally true that if every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood there would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being for all would be evermore difficult to achieve. Indeed, commitment to human rights with a special sensitivity to those of minorities, whether ethnic, religious or linguistic, is essential and the increasingly effective machinery of the United Nations dealing with the protection of human rights provides the appropriate remedy for real or contrived grievances in this respect. We fully endorse the

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

Secretary-General's view that in addressing various problems with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security:

> "The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

The conceptual framework of "An Agenda for Peace" is indeed remarkable in the ramifications and linkages it establishes between peace and security, international law, democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

Evidently, preventive diplomacy - as is the case with preventive medicine - is more useful than attempting to cure the crisis through peace-keeping or peacemaking after it has erupted. The Secretary-General could indeed exercise more often his responsibilities under Article 99 of the Charter for matters which, in his opinion, threaten the maintenance of international peace and security, and fully utilize the information-gathering possibilities open to the Secretariat through fact-finding missions or otherwise. The Secretary-General's ideas on preventive deployment of troops when so requested to deter conflict between States are worthy of consideration on a case-by-case basis. The establishment of demilitarized zones where appropriate is also a sound idea. Indeed, demilitarization on a broader scale, not only in the context of preventing conflicts but also as part of peacemaking, offers wide possibilities in appropriate situations. And here I would draw attention to our long-standing proposal for the complete demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, as reiterated by President Vassiliou in the general debate on 22 September this year, as an important element of the overall solution to the Cyprus problem.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

Under the chapter "Peacemaking" in "An Agenda for Peace" the Secretary-General wisely proposes an increased effort by utilizing the Charter provisions for dispute settlement. There has recently been intensification of activity towards third-party settlement of disputes, both at the United Nations and in such regional organizations as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Indeed, the Security Council is now in a stronger position to recommend appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement. One can only hope that such methods of dispute settlement as mediation and recourse to judicial settlement will prove to be more effective under the present international climate than in the past, as happened for example with the report of the United Nations mediator, Galo Plaza, whose judicious and balanced mediation effort for the solution of the Cyprus problem, under Security Council resolution 186 (1964) lapsed when one of the parties to the dispute refused to accept it with the unfortunate result that the peacemaking leg of Security Council resolution 186 (1964) fell out of step with peace-keeping under the same resolution when the Security Council proved unwilling to ensure compliance.

We particularly note and welcome the Secretary-General's recommendations in the international law field. Cyprus, having accepted without any reservations the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and having been the first State to have made a contribution to the Trust Fund established to assist countries unable to afford the cost of litigation before the Court, particularly welcomes and supports the recommendation that the Secretary-General be authorized, pursuant to Article 96 (2) of the Charter, to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court and that other United Nations organs that already enjoy such

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

authorization turn to the Court more frequently for such advisory opinions. Indeed, we noted with approval the wise suggestion of the President of the International Court of Justice, Sir Robert Jennings, in his statement to the General Assembly last year, that wider use be made of the advisory jurisdiction by States on the legal aspects of political disputes between them.

Other suggestions of the Secretary-General towards more effective peacemaking by the United Nations, including the use of military force under Chapter VII of the Charter, also merit serious consideration and support.

Peace-keeping has been one of the areas where the revitalization of the United Nations has been most evident in recent years. In our own experience, the United Nations force in Cyprus provides an excellent illustration of an effective and successful United Nations operation in its proper role of insulating a crisis and filling a power vacuum, while the processes of peacemaking are under way for the purpose of making its continued presence no longer necessary. Those associated with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), and all other United Nations peace-keeping operations, can justly take pride in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the United Nations peace-keeping forces. While UNFICYP was originally established by the Security Council for a brief period, it is still in operation many years later, and its presence is still necessary in order to perform essential functions. The lesson to be drawn from the Cyprus peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations is that as long as one or more of the parties concerned is unwilling to comply with the dictates of the international community, as spelled out in unanimously adopted and binding resolutions of the Security Council, and as long as the international community, and more particularly the major Powers are not willing or able to act effectively in order to implement

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

the resolutions for which they voted, peacemaking, which should go hand in hand with peace-keeping, is lagging behind, resulting in the indefinite continuation, if not the actual perpetuation, of the problem. This is an evidently unsatisfactory situation - unsatisfactory to the Government concerned, no less than to the contributing countries and to the United Nations - but the answer lies not in abandoning the peace-keeping effort, thereby abdicating responsibility and leaving the weak at the mercy of the strong, but in pressing on with effective peacemaking through the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions in all available ways.

My delegation welcomes the constructive suggestions of the Secretary-General for improving the potential of United Nations peace-keeping, including the training of personnel and the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, as well as of the Military Adviser's office, and we find meritorious the idea of earmarking appropriate equipment on stand-by for use by the United Nations.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

We similarly find worthy of serious consideration and support the Secretary-General's ideas on peace-building, on cooperation with regional organizations, on safety of personnel and on financing. In particular as regards the last point, it is obvious that Member States must meet their financial responsibilities and that the Secretary-General's specific suggestions, including the proposed peace-keeping reserve fund, merit support if the Organization is to be able to respond effectively to the ever-increasing demands for peace-keeping. The expenditures involved, while substantial, are only a small fraction of what is being spent on armaments and, in the new international political and military climate, it ought not to be impossible for the international community to meet its obligations in this regard.

In conclusion, let me stress that Cyprus, itself a case-study of most of the issues raised and discussed in the "Agenda for Peace", warmly welcomes the opportunity afforded by the debate for serious consideration of all the aspects raised in the report. It is obvious that peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building are important for the world. As our recent history has sadly demonstrated, it is particularly relevant and important for Cyprus. It is our sincere hope that before long we will achieve a just and lasting solution to the problem that has confronted us for too long. It will benefit all concerned and will constitute a major success for the United Nations.

Let us heed the warnings and advice of the Secretary-General and let us all work together to transform this, our Organization, not only into a vehicle that will enable us to move through this painfully turbulent period of transition, but one that will help us and our children to traverse successfully the times ahead. Let it not be said by future generations that

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

when their lives and future were in our hands we were found wanting because of narrow nationalistic objectives. We should seize the moment and move vigorously towards a more effective, new United Nations.

Mr. BATIOUK (Ukraine): It has been some time since the General Assembly held an in-depth discussion of the item before us. We think that this is a timely initiative and the Ukrainian delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive reports, which made this discussion possible and desirable.

We share the basic ideas contained in his report on the work of the Organization (A/47/1). In our opinion, this report gives a thorough analysis of the current international situation and an objective account of the changing role of the United Nations at a time when the world community is entering largely uncharted territory. Without exaggeration the report may be considered as the best annual report thus far, one that provides States with a clear vision of the achievements of the Organization as well as of the challenges which confront it.

At the same time, although both of the reports presented by the Secretary-General rightly concentrate on peace, sustainable development, the environment and human rights as ultimate goals of the United Nations, it seems to us that an important subject has been omitted. Both "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) and the "agenda for development" in the annual report (A/47/1, chap. III C), should take into consideration the validity of ideas contained in the United Nations expressions "peace and security through disarmament" and "development through disarmament". Hence, we feel compelled to draw the Assembly's attention to the omission of the important subject of disarmament in the reports.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

Like other delegations that have participated in this discussion, my delegation would like to focus its comments on one of the most thought-provoking of recent United Nations documents - "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping". Its multifaceted approach to the pressing problems of international peace and security requires careful analysis and evaluation by various United Nations bodies. However, in the view of the Ukrainian delegation, opinions expressed by the General Assembly on this subject are of particular importance both to the Secretary-General and to the Organization as a whole.

For several years now various bodies of the General Assembly have been engaged in serious discussions on a wide range of issues that are dealt with in the Secretary-General's report. We have managed to accumulate a substantial number of ideas which reflect the degree of consensus regarding concrete aspects of United Nations peace-keeping and peacemaking activities. In this connection, it might be advisable for the General Assembly at an appropriate time to crown its present deliberations with a consensus resolution that would reflect the preparedness of States to cooperate with the Secretary-General in implementing his ideas. In our view, it would be useful to try to formulate a common approach to the far-reaching proposals of the Secretary-General, and to draft a possible list of priorities.

We are convinced that the General Assembly will reiterate the fundamental theme of the report, namely that:

> "In these past months a conviction has grown, among nations large and small, that an opportunity has been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter - a United Nations capable of maintaining international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

and of promoting, in the words of the Charter, 'social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom'. This opportunity must not be squandered. The Organization must never again be crippled as it was in the era that has now passed." (A/47/277, para. 3)

Allow me now to touch upon some specific aspects of the report, in particular those dealing with the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations. We attach special importance to those issues since the Ukraine became a troop-contributing country to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), sector Sarajevo - probably one of the "hottest" peace-keeping operations ever carried out by the United Nations.

Our brief experience offers further proof of the importance of focusing world-wide attention on the problem of ensuring the safety of United Nations personnel carrying out peace-keeping duties in areas of conflict. The tragic toll speaks for itself. No one can fail to be impressed by the figure provided by the Secretary-General that over 800 military, police and civilian personnel from 43 countries, Ukraine among them, were killed in the service of the Organization - not at war. Something must definitely be done about it. We share the views expressed in this regard by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the Twelve at the outset of our debate.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

We understand that

"Duty in areas of danger can never be risk-free; United Nations personnel must expect to go in harm's way at times." (A/47/277, para. 67)

Nevertheless, it is a direct responsibility of the international community to react adequately to all hostile action towards United Nations personnel, especially such action as the deliberate shelling of United Nations forces.

In the view of the Ukrainian delegation, the time has come to explore the possibility of drafting an international legal instrument to ensure the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel - an instrument under which a State in which a peace-keeping force is deployed, as well as the parties to the conflict, would be held duly responsible for the use of force against peace-keepers. We also expect that the Security Council, in discharging its responsibilities in accordance with the Charter, will, without further delay, adopt effective measures to create the necessary conditions for the safe operation of peace-keeping forces and for an adequate response in the case of continued provocative action against those forces.

My delegation would like now to turn briefly to chapter IX of the Secretary-General's report, which deals with questions of financing. Members of the General Assembly may recall the discussion of these issues during debates in the Fifth Committee and the Special Political Committee as well as the Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. I refer to the polemics regarding so-called alternative sources of financing. The report of the Secretary-General leaves no doubt about the necessity to look for supplementary means of covering the Organization's expenses in this area. It

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

advances a whole range of proposals designed to strengthen the financial bases of peace-keeping. These do not exclude the possibility of borrowing resources from private institutions or a certain degree of commercial initiative for the Organization in this field. But, in this respect, the ideas I have mentioned are not the only ones that deserve consideration.

We share this approach, which accords with the existing realities and is designed to mitigate the financial difficulties of the Organization. In our view, the General Assembly should empower its relevant organs to start working on specific means of utilizing additional sources of finance, paying due regard to the maintenance of the impartial and objective character of peace-keeping operations. It goes without saying that the principle of the collective responsibility of States for the financing of these activities in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations remains the cornerstone of this endeavour.

Of particular importance to the delegation of Ukraine are those parts of the report that deal with the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. We agree with the Secretary-General that in the current political circumstances - circumstances that exist for the first time since the Charter was adopted - the long-standing obstacles to the implementation of Article 43, whereby Member States undertake to make armed forces, assistance and facilities available to the Security Council, should be removed. The availability of armed forces on call could, in itself, serve as a means of deterring breaches of the peace, since a potential aggressor would know that the Council had at its disposal a means of response.

(Mr. Batiouk, Ukraine)

We are convinced that full use by the international community of such a powerful mechanism as Chapter VII would certainly strengthen the authority of the United Nations and would allay the concern of some countries and certain segments of world public opinion about the legality of Security Council decisions authorizing the use of military force.

At the same time, we agree with the Secretary-General that such forces are not likely to be available for some time to come. That is why Ukraine supports the Secretary-General's recommendation concerning special peace-enforcement units to be utilized by the Security Council in clearly defined circumstances and with terms of reference specified in advance.

Ukraine, for its part, is considering the possibility of creating a special stand-by contingent of the Ukrainian armed forces for possible use by the Security Council for the purpose of maintaining or restoring international peace and security.

I should like, in conclusion, to express confidence that our deliberations will contribute to the search for more reliable United Nations mechanisms in the field of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building.

Mrs. ZAFRA TURBAY (Colombia): As this is my delegation's first opportunity to address the General Assembly, I should like to congratulate you most sincerely, Mr. President, on your election. Our congratulations go also to the other officers of the Assembly. I am convinced that under your leadership, Sir, the General Assembly will be successful in its work.

It is with great pleasure that my delegation refers to the report (A/47/277) that the Secretary-General prepared at the request of the Security Council. That report contains recommendations aimed at making more efficient

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

the capacity of the United Nations in the spheres of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building.

As soon as it became aware of the report, Colombia began to analyse it with keen attention. It contains concepts that we share fully, as well as concepts which, because of their implications and scope, give us cause for some concern and demand more thorough consideration. As a member of the Rio Group, Colombia fully agrees with the views expressed by our coordinator, the representative of Argentina, who presented the position of the Permanent Mechanism for Consultation and Concerted Political Action. In addition, Colombia deems it necessary to emphasize certain issues that we hope will constitute a contribution to these discussions.

The profound and rapid changes that the international community has experienced in recent times mark the beginning of a new era in relations between States. The expectations created by the configuration of a new order based on fairness and justice, the establishment of democracy and fundamental freedoms, and cooperation for the purpose of achieving sustainable development and general well-being presuppose that there will be a political order and an international economic environment which will help to ensure that the internal measures adopted by States produce the expected results and will give firm support to national institutions and global stability.

In other words, the new scenario submitted to the community of nations entails a clear recognition of the fact that peace is a multifaceted concept. We are very pleased about this, but the achievement of peace is still overshadowed by uncertainty and by certain trends that can be seen in the manner in which some decisions are made, as well as in the tendency of some to

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

arrogate certain powers to themselves - something that merely increases distrust and confusion.

Accordingly, we agree with the Secretary-General when he refers to the existence of a new dimension of security that encompasses economic factors - including anti-free-trade protectionist barriers, poverty, hunger and the crushing debt burdens - and new global problems, such as illicit drug trafficking, deterioration of the environment and the risks involved in the flow of displaced persons and in the massive migrations of people within and beyond national borders.

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

The bodies to deal with these questions must be those recognized as competent by the international community and in which States participate democratically on the basis of the principle of sovereign equality.

The new range of elements that could become a threat to international peace and security represents a challenge to all States and to the United Nations. The latter's effectiveness in carrying out this common task of preventing and settling conflicts and of keeping the peace will depend, to a large extent, on how consistently the principles of the Charter are implemented and on the credibility of the Organization's decisions.

Colombia agrees with the Secretary-General on the need to implement the principles of the Charter uniformly, not selectively, if we are to banish mistrust and avoid further weakening the United Nations moral authority. One of my country's major concerns with regard to the Agenda for Peace relates to the apparent contradiction between the principles of sovereignty, interference in the internal affairs of States and economic cooperation.

Indeed, the Secretary-General's report states:

> "The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality." (A/47/277, para. 17)

The same document, when referring to internal crisis situations, states that:

> "the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States must be fully respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" (Ibid., para. 30).

Colombia has always advocated and upheld the need to ensure that Member States abide strictly by the principles of international law and that such principles should not be diluted or sacrificed for the sake of universality or the trend to establish blocs. The very recognition of interdependence and the

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

existence of multilateralism can be understood only if construed as recognition of the outside influence of a State's sovereign acts and the equally sovereign response of the community of nations to the conduct in question.

In that connection Colombia was especially pleased that the Secretary-General, in addressing the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held at Jakarta in the first week of September, reaffirmed the need to abide by such basic principles as national sovereignty and that in that connection he stated that:

> "The concept of sovereignty is at the very heart of the United Nations dialectic, for nations cannot be truly united if they are not genuinely sovereign. Let us also remember that the Charter refers to sovereign equality, since sovereignty embodies the principle of equality."

Equally reassuring was his reference to non-intervention and his words to the effect that the United Nations will never intervene in the internal affairs of a Member State, whether under the guise of preventive diplomacy or for the sake of performing humanitarian actions, without obtaining the consent of all the interested parties.

Now that that has been made clear, we can refer to the links that the Secretary-General established between the economic and social situation of countries and peace and security. We view that relationship as an invitation to strive for a just and balanced economic and social development, putting into that undertaking the same degree of effort and intensity as has been devoted to the maintenance of peace in regions of conflict. On earlier occasions we have stated that a sound economic situation is no guarantee of peace, just as the absence of peace does not mean that a region will

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

automatically become one of conflict. Peace, we must not forget, is one of the most important issues on our agenda, but it is not the only one. The Organization must also deal with economic and social issues, as was stated in the proposal of the Rio Group, which we firmly support, and which drew up a true Agenda for Development.

In that connection we must reverse the recent trend to expand the powers of the Security Council, to the detriment of the balance established by the Charter between the various principal organs of the United Nations. If a difficult situation rooted in economic and social factors should arise, the solution ought not be provided by the Security Council. It would be more appropriate to have recourse to the various agencies in the system and seek international support in stabilizing a given region through a development programme and appropriate strategies. Development is a goal in itself, one designed to achieve higher standards of well-being for peoples, and, just as it can be a destabilizing factor, when properly directed it can create a solid foundation for progress.

In our opinion there is one issue that should be added to the Agenda for Peace: reform of the Security Council, which is indispensable for the new design for peace. The new tasks and responsibilities in the field of peace imply a reform of the Security Council, a body that is still governed by measures adopted nearly 50 years ago, in 1945. Such reform should include, inter alia, the question of that body's composition and an analysis of the question of the right to the veto. The redefinition of a peace programme must proceed parallel to the updating of that organ, which bears the major responsibility for implementing the peace programme.

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

Also of particular interest to my country is the question of peace-keeping operations. We understand that this mechanism has been applied to a new series of situations. However, as a peace-loving country, we are concerned at the frequency with which Chapter VII of the Charter is being invoked and, consequently, at the new and expanded responsibilities being allocated to the Security Council over and above those set forth in the Charter. We are apprehensive at the possibility, albeit remote, that United Nations peace-keeping operations might become an executory arm of the decisions adopted by the Security Council in such areas as humanitarian assistance, the protection of human rights, illicit drug trafficking, environmental deterioration and others, which, as I said earlier, are issues that should be dealt with in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other appropriate forums.

My country attaches the utmost importance to peace-keeping operations. In the past 40 years Colombia has participated in peace missions by providing law-enforcement officers and military observers. Our contribution and cooperation with the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security began with our active participation in the Korean conflict.

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

Our contribution to United Nations peace-keeping activities continues today in El Salvador, Cambodia, Yugoslavia, the Sinai and Angola. My delegation believes that in the exercise of those activities, such fundamental principles as universality and non-discrimination on the basis of race, language or culture must be borne in mind. The process of selecting contingents from different countries should be carried out equitably and impartially.

In connection with the budgetary proposals contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, although we agree with him on the need to seek financial mechanisms that will ensure the effective implementation of peace-keeping operations, my delegation would supplement those proposals, as follows.

First, budgetary measures should be discussed en bloc in order to provide Member States with an overview of implicit financial commitments.

Secondly, the discussion should benefit from the initiatives currently taking shape in various bodies, including the expert group set up by the Secretary-General. It would be advisable to set a deadline for the submission of proposals to allow time for their thorough examination.

Thirdly, eventual decisions should discourage late payment of contributions and not destabilize the United Nations regular budget.

Fourthly, thought should be given to establishing a peace-keeping reserve fund, on the understanding that the search for sources of financing in the private sector and from individuals should not compromise the necessary impartiality and neutrality of the Organization.

(Mrs. Zafra Turbay, Colombia)

Finally, we wish to underscore what was said by the Rio Group. We do not think it a good idea at this juncture to alter the scale of assessments adopted for peace-keeping operations. On the contrary: institutionalization of the scale would enhance the reliability of commitments resulting from the Secretary-General's new initiatives.

The Colombian delegation hopes these ideas will contribute to improving our Organization's capacity for action in the face of the changing factors of peace and security. Thus, we firmly support the establishment of a General Assembly working group that is able to contribute positive proposals to the analysis of the document that we have been considering today.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.